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LIMITED SEGREGATION

J. E. ARMSTRONG

Principal of Englewood High School, Chicago, Ill.

No doubt the fact that boys and girls are being taught in separate classes in one of the Chicago high schools is a source of regret to many and a source of alarm to a few. It is not at all strange that the experiment has been called reactionary, and even a blow to the progress of woman. It is to be hoped, however, that a little explanation of what is really being done, together with a frank statement of the results aimed at, may at least remove any fears that exist in the minds of the readers of this article, as to the motives behind the movement.

The term "segregation" itself is an unfortunate one, as it immediately raises a wall between the sexes, and seems to threaten the freedom of woman. The word "limited" has therefore been prefixed, to indicate that the separation of the sexes is only partial. If some other word could be found that would indicate that the sexes were separated only during recitations, and during only the first part of adolescence, it would be a fortunate thing for the work undertaken; but no one has been able to find a more suitable name than the one in use, viz., "limited segregation."

It has seemed to me for many years that the present method of educational training for boys and girls in their early teens is falling far short of the needs of secondary education. To be sure, splendid results have come from the healthful intellectual and social relations of young people in a coeducational school; but the social relations have been of far greater benefit than the intellectual. Before there were coeducational schools, there were segregated schools, or boys' schools and girls' schools. It was considered improper for boys and girls to associate together, to converse together, to go in society together, or even to see each other. There was no particular concern about the peculiar trend of mind that marks the typical youth at the dawn of that most impressionable period of life, when a sexless

being is transformed into an adult. The annals of such institutions are full of accounts of secret meetings, secret correspondence, or even more serious matters.

The oft-repeated criticism that "boys in boys' schools become rude and boisterous and girls in girls' schools, silly and sentimental," undoubtedly has some foundation. President Stanley Hall thinks these traits desirable during this age. Be this as it may, economy in maintaining the public high schools, more than any other reason, led to the almost universal practice of coeducation. At first the boys were seated at one side of the room and the girls at the other, facing each other, with a wide aisle between; but they recited in the same classes. Then economy of space, offered by the modern school desk, brought all facing the teacher, with uniform aisles and the pupils alphabetically arranged. Thus it is that economic laws which opposed the education of woman in one instance served to emancipate her in another. It was found that the social relations, when healthful, were beneficial in training the wild, spontaneous nature of the boy and in bringing out the timid, retiring nature of the girl. It was a great triumph for woman when she secured the right to an equal opportunity with man for intellectual and social freedom, and in some states political equality. I would be the last person to deprive her of the fruits of this splendid victory; but may we not find that equal rights do not mean identical rights, and may it not be possible that, having gained this vantage ground, a higher field of opportunity and complete emancipation may be found; not in identical education, but in a special training, equal, parallel, and complementary?

It seems to me that, aside from economy, the chief advantages of coeducation are the healthful social relations of young people. I speak entirely of pupils in their early teens, as I have had no experience with those of college age. The home life of children is the ideal to be kept before us. It is only a partial view of coeducation that leads to the observation that, since boys and girls are reared in the same family, they should be taught in the same classes. Few parents indeed find it desirable to provide the same books, the same games and amusements, or the same home duties for their sons and daughters. That some parents teach their sons to sew and cook,

and their daughters to run the plane and saw, proves only that some parents have a quarrel with Nature rather than with custom.

In all this discussion let us keep in mind natural, typical, young people between the ages of thirteen and seventeen; and by "typical" I do not mean the average boy of a certain family or school. Many influences tend to modify the average; but, taking boys in general as a class in their early teens and comparing them with girls of the same ages, we see certain characteristic differences. Having recognized the leading differences in mental traits, we look for common characteristics of each class. The larger the number of boys compared, the truer will our type be. That A or B differs from his type proves nothing against limited segregation. There are boys whose mental traits would put them in a girls' class and girls who conform to the boy type; but these are far in the minority. We have heretofore laid so much stress upon the "woman wrangler" in mathematics that we have lost sight of the fact that she is the rare exception. If we would serve the interests of far the greatest number, we should recognize the fact that Nature is making a supreme effort to differentiate her boys and girls so that they may perform different functions, not only physical, but mental; not identical, but equal in importance, parallel, and complementary.

Let no one infer from this that the freedom of woman should be so restricted that she could not choose a profession or engage in a line of work hitherto considered man's exclusive field; but let us simply keep in mind that the vast majority of our girls are to become home-keepers and not lawyers. Instead of holding before all our girls that the highest object of education for them is to become professional women or business women, let us exalt, if possible, the sacred privilege of home-making.

Long before psychologists recognized any difference in the rate of growth of boys and girls, common law recognized the fact that a girl passes her period of development known as adolescence more rapidly than a boy, so that a girl of eighteen is considered capable of holding property in her own name, while a boy is not so recognized till the age of twenty-one. Men usually choose wives from two to five years younger than themselves, thus recognizing the same fact of earlier development of women. The average girl begins the

changes that transform her from a child to an adult woman at the age of thirteen. At this period she is taller than a boy of the same age. The boy does not begin his rapid growth and change till fifteen or sixteen, when he passes the girl in height. As children of fourteen enter the high school, the girl is from one to two years more mature than the boy. She is already a woman in seriousness of purpose, in power of application, and in womanly instincts. He is but a playful little fellow, not yet weaned from marbles and pegtops. During his first two years in high school he begins to grow rapidly. Indeed, so rapid are his physical changes that he finds himself unable to concentrate his mind upon anything. He needs more sleep and fresh air than ever before. Nature makes such drafts upon his stomach that he can do little else than eat, sleep, and exercise. No wonder most boys during these two or three years earn the title of "that lazy boy." The girl's listless, weary period was more brief and occurred one or two years before she entered high school. The boy, during his first two years in high school, finds himself unable to carry his work beside his more mature sisters. During an experience of twenty-five years, 20 per cent. of the girls who graduated from my high school attained an average of 90 per cent. in all their studies, while only 2 per cent. of the boy graduates during the same period attained such a grade.

President Stanley Hall, who has written a classic on *Adolescence*, says:

Divergence is most marked and sudden in the early teens. At this age, by almost world-wide consent, boys and girls separate for a time, and lead their lives during this most critical period more or less apart, at least for a few years, until the ferment of mind and body, which results in maturity of function then born and culminating in nubility, has done its work. The family and home abundantly recognize this tendency. At twelve or fourteen brothers and sisters develop a life more independent of each other than before. The home occupations differ as do their plays, games, tastes. History, anthropology, and sociology, as well as home life, abundantly illustrate this. This is normal and biological. . . . We should respect the law of sexual differences and not forget that motherhood is a very different thing from fatherhood. Neither sex should copy or set pattern to the other, but all parts should be played harmoniously and clearly in the sex symphony.

Now add to this difference in maturity the fact that there are fifty-nine girls to every forty-one boys in the high schools of the

United States, and that in many schools there are four to one, and it becomes more apparent that we need to carry the grading system far enough to divide the few, immature boys from the many, serious-minded, more mature girls of a school. I would not have them attend separate schools, because of the loss of social influence upon each other; but I would grade them by sex in order to put those of like mind and purpose together. The social relations would be more restricted than before, it is true, but still sufficient to preserve the advantages recognized in coeducational schools.

Thus far I have spoken chiefly of the difference in time and rate of development. Let us turn now to fundamental differences in intellectual traits. The typical boy of fourteen does not enjoy set tasks, especially those that require patience and memory work. He delights in experiments. He chafes under restraints and often prefers to do things the wrong way, if, in doing so, he can be independent. He is so independent of authority that he is sometimes dismissed from school, and even from home, for disobedience. In the classroom he makes up, to some extent, for lack of preparation by being very attentive. On the written tests he usually falls pretty flat, because a bright, attentive eye or a little general talk will not so readily conceal lack of knowledge; and even if he knows the subject pretty well, he does not like to spend time writing it out in full. Tried by the girl-standard, he is very deficient, and certainly earns the reputation of being "a lazy boy." If he works with the energy of a steam engine while building a boat or in a game of football, he still fails to redeem himself from the reputation he has made in the girls' classroom. I say the girls' classroom because I think the class has gone through an unintentional evolution to suit the needs of those in the majority of numbers and maturity of mind.

The girl of the same age is more tractable; she will take the advice of her teachers and parents as to what she should do and the way to do it. She is neat and painstaking. She delights in disciplinary studies, and especially in language and literature. Nature has bestowed on her some rare gifts. She has instincts and intuitions that seldom manifest themselves in the boy, and if her logical powers are faulty, she is as capable of arriving at a correct conclusion and more quickly than he can. Her sympathies are keener and her tastes

more refined. Tried by man's standard for generations, woman was regarded by him as an inferior being. Man even now is apt to regard the intuitions of women of little value unless they can be reduced to a logical form, but alas for impetuous man, if not often held in check by the instincts and intuitions of a true wife or mother! Drummond suggests that "woman once"—in prehistoric time—"domesticated man." That is, woman, with the accumulated wisdom of ancestry, which we call instinct, and the subjective insight into the forgotten past, which we call intuition, was able to make better use of the experiences of the race than impulsive, headstrong, independent man, depending upon reason for his guidance. Her gentler nature tamed and subdued his wild nature, and so man became a domestic animal. There still remains much for her to do. Nature intends her to be the conservator of all that is good and helpful in the advancement of the race. She holds the keys to the treasure-house of the past. She keeps in check the impetuous, venturesome spirit of man.

Nature has made no mistake in so constituting our children that the boy begins that marvelous change that transforms his physical and mental being into maturity several years later than his sister, nor is there any mistake that she completes her growth several years sooner. Nature intends him to be the bread-winner, the discoverer, the inventor, the mechanic, the jurist, the defender of the home and nation. Every trait of the boy-nature prompts in these directions. It is only when we try to thwart nature by making our boys and girls alike that mistakes occur. If it is a fair assumption that man is to be pre-eminently the provider, the discoverer, the inventor, and woman the home-keeper, the care-taker, the child-trainer, the virtue-lover, the guardian of useful experiences of the race, how are we best to train each for his or her life-work? If the sexes are endowed exactly alike and are to perform such very different functions, surely they each need a different training; and if they are differently endowed, as I believe most people admit, then still they need different treatment, whether they are to perform different or identical functions. Is a creature endowed by nature with marvelous intuitions to have these powers crippled by a course in higher mathematics or other forms of logic? Is imagination strengthened by a long course in

mechanics? Is the inventive faculty to be quickened by rules of grammar? Is the genius for discovery and invention strengthened by herding boys in the graveyards of the past? Yet these are our traditional methods. We teach our boys and girls the same studies in the same way.

Turning now to the physical side again, it is a fact long deplored by physicians that we neglect to instruct these young people upon matters of the greatest importance, not only for their own health and comfort, but for the good of the race itself. Few teachers would dare to venture into this field in a mixed class, and if they should, their language must be so guarded that there is great probability of being misunderstood or of giving wrong impressions to an imagination already on fire with curiosity. Sensitive minds make undue personal applications, and coarse minds turn every reference to sex relations into obscene pictures. There is but one solution of this difficult but important problem, and that is through segregation, with plain talks in straightforward, Anglo-Saxon language.

Superintendent Smith, of St. Paul, says in his last annual report that "no thoughtful teacher escapes an anxious feeling concerning the health of girl students, and parents and physicians know that they are often overwrought and nervously deranged. Under the same course of instruction, we do not hear that boys are breaking down or suffering in health." The pressure needed in a mixed class to get fair preparation out of the typical boy will drive the typical girl to nervous prostration.

Turning now to the practical side of the work, let us see how it works. In January of last year I obtained the consent of the board of education to separate the mid-year entering class into girls' classes and boys' classes. If the hundred-odd entering pupils in this class could have been kept by themselves, the experiment would have been much more satisfactory; but we were obliged to add to their numbers about thirty pupils who had failed in two or more studies. All were assigned to three rooms, just as they came from the grammar schools, boys and girls together. When the bell rang for passing to recitations, the boys went to one class and the girls to another. It was not possible to separate them in all their classes, however,

because the numbers were too small to do so. The following segregated classes were formed:

Latin.....	one girls' class and one boys' class
German.....	one girls' class and one boys' class
Physical geography.....	one girls' class and one boys' class
Algebra.....	two girls' classes and one boys' class
English.....	two girls' classes and one boys' class

Some mixed classes were formed in addition to these.

Of the twelve teachers who taught these segregated classes, seven were women and five were men. This is about the ratio of men and women teachers in the school. All Latin and German were taught by women, and all physical geography by men. One girls' algebra class and two girls' English classes were taught by women. One boys' algebra class and one boys' English class were taught by men, and one girls' algebra class was taught by a man. This gave sufficient variety to insure fair returns. The following will show that the number of boys who carried this work successfully compares very favorably with the girls, a fact not usually found in mixed classes. In order not to have the experiment spoiled by the record of those who failed the previous semester and were turned back into these classes, their records were excluded.

The number of February pupils in the various subjects together with certain other information will be found in the following table:

Sex	Original Number	Subject	Sex of Teacher	Left School or Dropped Subject	Number Who Passed the Course	Per cent. of Those in Class Who Passed
Boys.....	21	English	Man	3	13	72
Girls.....	38	English	Woman	4	29	86
Girls.....	21	English	Woman	4	17	100
Boys.....	15	Latin	Woman	4	10	90
Girls.....	22	Latin	Woman	4	12	66
Boys.....	19	German	Woman	4	13	96
Girls.....	21	Latin	Woman	7	11	78
Girls.....	36	German.	Woman	6	25	80
Boys.....	23	Algebra	Man	5	16	88
Girls.....	29	Algebra	Man	5	18	79
Girls.....	31	Algebra	Woman	3	15	53
Boys.....	21	Ph. Geog.	Man	3	17	94
Girls.....	36	Ph. Geog.	Man	6	20	96

The twelve teachers were asked to report their opinions upon the following questions:

In your judgment how do these classes compare with mixed classes in—

SCHOLARSHIP

Sex of Teacher	Better	The Same	Worse
BOYS' CLASSES—			
Man.....	3	0	0
Woman.....	1	1	0
GIRLS' CLASSES—			
Man.....	1	1	0
Woman.....	1	3	1

ATTENTION

BOYS' CLASSES—			
Man.....	3	0	0
Woman.....	0	1	1
GIRLS' CLASSES—			
Man.....	1	1	0
Woman.....	1	2	2

DEPORTMENT

BOYS' CLASSES—			
Man.....	1	2	0
Woman.....	0	1	1
GIRLS' CLASSES—			
Man.....	2	0	0
Woman.....	3	1	1

Do you find any advantage in segregation?

Men.....	Yes 5	No 0
Women.....	Yes 4	No 3

It will be seen from the tabulated statement that a greater percentage of the boys than of the girls carried their foreign language successfully—a place where boys usually fail. The work was slightly modified, and if high marks had been considered rather than numbers carrying above 75 per cent., the girls would have made a better showing. In mathematics the boys' classes excelled both in numbers that passed and in higher marks. In physical geography the work was quite a little modified to meet the needs of each.

In addition to the report of the twelve teachers I should like to add some observations of my own:

1. It will require stronger teachers to teach segregated classes than mixed classes.

a) Stronger in discipline, because of the intenser spirit of a class of pupils more nearly of one mind. In boys' classes they tend to rush headlong in any direction they happen to be interested to go, whether in conduct, scholarship, or sport. Girls are passive and inert in the oral recitation, preferring to let others talk.

b) A teacher needs to be keener and more alert with segregated classes, whether teaching boys or girls, to curb the spontaneous spirit of one and keep it going in the right direction, or to quicken and hold the naturally reserved spirit of the other.

2. Girls are more studious of books, and so have a tendency to learn by rote. Boys give keener attention in the recitation, and thus make up in a measure for their lack of preparation. Girls know far less than boys of practical affairs, and early learn to be silent when such questions are asked.

3. There is a better opportunity to develop a topic logically with a class of segregated pupils than in the mixed class, for the same reason that a teacher can teach a subject more logically in a well-graded school than in an ungraded school. We are simply carrying the grading of pupils one step farther.

I am convinced, thus far, that there is a greater gain to the boys than to the girls; but I believe in time we shall be able to do equally well for the segregated girls, if allowed to work at the problem long enough. As a rule, both men and women teachers who can hold the discipline of boys and girls would prefer to teach a boys' class. They say the recitation is more animated. Teachers of either sex prefer a mixed class to a girls' class. I believe this is partly due to the fact that our courses of study and textbooks are all prepared for boys and girls in mixed classes, and with the idea dominant throughout that men and women have identical goals and need identical training. Both of these propositions, I believe, are untrue. I believe that the goals are very different and that identical preparation is wrong; and, that, if identical goals is the true ideal, the difference in nature of the minds of boys and girls in their early teens will still demand a somewhat different treatment.

Some six weeks after the work began I asked all pupils in segre-

gated classes to write me a letter telling me how they liked segregation, and to tell me why they liked or did not like it. All boys but three said they liked it, while the girls were about equally divided. The boys expressed themselves more frankly than the girls, though their papers were not so neat, and several of them showed they were believers in some form of reformed spelling. Many of them gave as a reason for liking segregation that the teacher was more free with them and that they felt less reserved themselves. Two of the three who did not like it said with equal frankness that they could not have so much fun as they could when girls were present.

Doubtless the girls were more reserved because they felt that the principal believed in segregation and so did not like to oppose it; but their replies were decidedly lacking in frankness, whichever way they believed. Those who liked it were quite as apt to tell me a theoretical reason as those who did not like it, neither one basing it upon immediate experiences. Later on, an essay was required of each telling me in general terms who their ideal character was. All boys chose men and 43 per cent. of the girls chose men as their ideals, while 57 per cent. of the girls chose women. In mixed classes I found that a larger percentage of girls took a masculine ideal.

It may occur to some that pupils of such varied interests and attainments would best help each other. In the district school, however, where all grades from the first to the twelfth were present, the younger pupils did learn much by hearing the older recite; but the older learned little or nothing from hearing the younger recite. So in the mixed classes in the ninth grade, boys or girls become weary and lose interest while waiting for those whose attainments are far below their own to catch up. Each one learns from his superiors; but when kept back too long by inferiors, interest wanes.

In June I made a report to the board asking that the work be continued with the February class and extended to the incoming September class. The Parents' Club of the school took lively interest in the work, and, after sending a committee of ladies to visit the classes and make a report, sent a petition to the board asking that my request be granted. They commented with great enthusiasm upon the work and urged immediate action. The board, however, postponed action till midsummer. Few members were present, and when an adverse

recommendation was made, no attention was given it, and so it was adopted. When school opened in September the programme was begun with no segregated classes. The Parents' Club immediately went before the School Management Committee of the board and requested a reconsideration of the matter. After two sessions of that body, a report adverse to segregation by the majority of the committee, and a minority report favoring it, were agreed upon. At a meeting of the board on September 26 the whole matter was discussed in open meeting and decided 18 to 3 in favor of continuing and extending the experiment. The programme was accordingly recast, so that nearly all pupils in first- and mid-first-year classes are now in segregated recitations.

During the time the School Management Committee was holding the question before it, the officers of the Parents' Club of the school called a meeting of the club and spent the afternoon discussing means of bringing the matter to favorable attention. Petitions were circulated, and, when signed, sent to the School Management Committee; and, finally, a brief paper on "Limited Segregation," written for the Mothers' Congress at Springfield, was printed in a circular and sent to the parents of every first-year pupil. This was followed up by a referendum ballot asking the parents to vote "Yes" or "No" as to whether they would prefer to have their children taught in segregated or mixed classes. There were about four hundred sent out, and of the three hundred returned two hundred favored separate classes to one hundred opposed. Besides this two-to-one vote by the parents of children that had never been in segregated classes, 90 per cent. of the parents of children that were in the segregated classes last semester voted in favor of it.

How many parents have been utterly discouraged because their boys behaved so badly when compared with the girls' standard, and how many boys have become as deeply discouraged by being made to feel that they were abnormal, since they could not behave as girls do! Are we not to blame for driving our boys out of school by our failure to recognize that there should be two types?

What I would plead for, then, is a scientific study of the characteristics of boys and girls, and if it shall be found that there are the differences I have pointed out, and if thoughtful consideration of

the highest good attainable for each shall be admitted to be a complementary, rather than an identical, purpose even in education, then should we not adopt a new scheme of training, and especially should we not provide means for interesting the vast majority of our boys that now find no attraction in the present schemes of education? It is my purpose in this to assist our boys and girls in their early teens to differentiate in their characteristics, so that each shall be better prepared for the higher complementary relations of life; and after young manhood and womanhood have found themselves, let them then go in the parallel paths of mature men and women.